THE CONDUCT of the LIVERY-MEN of *London* Juſtified, &c.

[Price Sixpence.]

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THE CONDUCT OF THE LIVERY-MEN AT THE Late ELECTION of a LORD-MAYOR, and their *Proceedings* in the *Common-Hall* Juſtified; WITH Some CAUTIONS relating to their Future CONDUCT, and the Preſent STATE of the NATION.

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In an ADDRESS to the COMMON-COUNCIL and LIVERY.

Creditis Avectos Hoſtes? VIRG.

LONDON,

Printed for T. GARDNER, Printer and Publiſher, at Cowley's-Head without Temple-Bar, 1739.

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Late ELECTION of a LORD-MAYOR, and their *Proceedings* in the *Common-Hall* Justified;

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Some CAUTIONS relating to their Future CONDUCT, and the Present STATE of the NATION.

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Credit Mr. Sheriff's Notes? VIRG.

LONDON,

Printed for T. GARDNER, Printer and Publisher, at Cowley's Head without Temple-Bar, 1749.

THE CONDUCT OF THE *Livery-men justified* &c.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is no ſmall Satisfaction for me to reflect that I addreſs myſelf to Men who have Reſolution to purſue, as well as Judgment to diſcern, their *true Intereſts*: That I write to Men who are ſenſible, that had they at the late memorable Election ſerv'd the Purpoſes of overgrown Power, they muſt have tamely ſtood by

till they ſaw their Fellow-Countrymen devour'd, while all the Favour they themſelves were to expect, was, that they were reſerv'd for the laſt Morſel of the Monſters unſatiable Maw. You have, Gentlemen, by your Behaviour, equall'd, if not out-done the moſt glorious Effects of *Public Spirit* in the warmeſt and moſt diſintereſted Ages of Antiquity. In the Struggles which the *Romans* made for Liberty, the Contention lay betwixt one Body of Citizens and another, while the Heads of each Party had ſtrong Merits to plead, and their Intereſts were ſupported by a long Tract of real Services they had done to their Country. It is no wonder therefore while they artfully diſguis'd the real Motives of their AMBITION, if many true Friends to Liberty were deceiv'd by theſe ſpecious Pretences; and if the preſent Age, at this Diſtance of Time, is divided in its Sentiments about the Juſtice of oppoſite Claims almoſt in every Period of their Hiſtory.

Conſider, Gentlemen, if this is the Caſe with Regard to our preſent Diviſions; let me aſk the moſt ſhameleſs Tool of Corruption, what Merits thoſe of one Party can plead? Can they ſay that at a Time when

when our Liberties, our Properties and our Religion were in Danger, they boldly ſtep'd betwixt them and the Gulph that open'd for their Deſtruction? Can they ſay that they have led our Armies to Conqueſt, or our Fleets to Triumph? Can they pretend that their more peaceful Meaſures have ſecur'd the Commerce and Property of the Nation abroad; that their negotiating Policy has heighten'd the Reputation of *Britain* with foreign Powers; Or that by their Conduct, the Friendſhip of the *Britiſh* Flag is now either dreaded or courted? Can they ſay that while we have ſunk in Credit, in Intereſt and Reputation abroad, they have ſucceſsfully cultivated the Arts of Peace at home? That the People live unaw'd by *Power*; unfleec'd by *Taxes*, and unmoleſted by *Foes?* I am afraid, my Countrymen, this cannot be with ſtrict Juſtice affirm'd; yet I ſhould be much more apt to diſ-believe a Writer or Speaker, who ſhould harangue the Public in the following Manner.

" They who deſign, if they can, to
" wreathe the Yoak about your Necks,
" are Men whoſe conſtant Practice it has
" been upon all Emergencies to baſk in the
" Sun-ſhine of a Court however degene-
" rated,

" rated, and to purſue *private Intereſt*
" however inconſiſtent with *public Spirit.*
" He who is now the Dictator of Cor-
" ruption, ſtain'd the Annals of a Glori-
" ous Reign, by being the only Senator
" that after a laborious Enquiry ſet on
" Foot by the Animoſity of Rival-facti-
" ons, was found worthy of a public
" Brand of Infamy for corrupted Practi-
" ces. Your Armies have been main-
" tain'd for a Terror to yourſelves, and
" your Fleets fitted out for a Laughing-
" ſtock to your Neighbours. The Navi-
" gation, the Commerce and the Property
" of the *Britiſh* Nation abroad have been
" endanger'd, neglected and barter'd away;
" your Seamen have been mangled; your
" Merchants plunder'd, and your Poſſeſ-
" ſions invaded; and by whom? By a
" Power who not long ago would have
" trembled, had it entertain'd the moſt
" diſtant Thoughts of making ſuch En-
" croachments. You have not, during
" twenty Years, made one Treaty that
" has not in the Event prov'd ruinous to
" this Nation; nor ſecur'd one Ally that
" now in the Day of your Diſtreſs can
" avail you. Your Trade is ruin'd, your
" Ships taken, and your Seamen impri-
" ſon'd

" ſon'd almoſt in Sight of the fineſt
" Fleet that ever the World ſaw, for
" maintaining which the Sweat, the Toil
" and the Labour of the *Britiſh* Subjects
" are expended. While this is our Caſe
" abroad, the honeſt and the wiſe Part of
" the Nation, at home, either languiſh in
" an utter Incapacity of doing their Coun-
" try Service, or their Efforts are render'd
" ineffectual by a Faction whom Num-
" bers alone render conſiderable. Thus
" that public Spirit which reconciles all
" that is *great* to all that is *humane*; and
" by providing for the Safety of the *whole*
" ſecures the Intereſt of every *individual*,
" is cruſh'd by Men, whoſe only Aim
" is to prop a Greatneſs that their inconſi-
" derate Folly has rais'd, and whoſe only
" Art to gratify the Wants which their
" exemplary Luxury has created. Thus
" the Arts that poliſh, as well as the Vir-
" tues that exalt Mankind, are neglected,
" and a Degeneracyof Morals takes Place
" of all Principles but thoſe of Intereſt,
" and of all Sentiments but thoſe of Ava-
" rice. The moſt unpopular Laws have
" by means of a Standing Army been put
" in Execution; you have been ſubjected
" to all the Calamities of War in the
" midſt

" midſt of a Peace, more expenſive to the " Nation than the moſt glorious War " could have been, and the natural Here- " ditary Enemies of your Crown and " Nation have advanc'd their Intereſts " upon the Ruin of yours."

Should any Man, my Countrymen, declaim at this rate, I could deny his Charge, and deny it with Juſtice; he might be anſwer'd, that if that had been our Caſe for ſo great a Number of Years as he inſinuates, all public Spirit muſt e'er this Time have been extinguiſh'd in the Nation; yet your late Behaviour is a glorious Proof that it ſtill ſubſiſts with as much Vigour, and is as diffus'd, as ever. It ſubſiſts in the Heart of the whole Body, and muſt ſoon purge away all the Dregs of Corruption that may lurk in the Extremities.

Yet, Gentlemen, tho' you have *fought a good Fight*, a great deal ſtill remains to be done; you have indeed gain'd a Victory, but that Victory may be uſeleſs, may, Gentlemen, be fatal to yourſelves if you neglect to improve it. The means of improving it are plain and obvious; you need only preſerve your Unanimity, and ſuffer no Power to be communicated by you

you, but into Hands that are unſtain'd by Corruption: While you unite you are ſafe: All *Britain* will caſt their Eyes upon your Conduct; they will conſider you as the Banners as the Standards under which they are to unite againſt the Arts of Oppreſſion; they will ſhare in your Dangers; they will triumph in your Succeſs; or they will be buried under your Ruins. Theſe, my Friends, are very diſtant Views, and very diſtant may they be; we are under no Danger of that ever being our Caſe while we are govern'd by a Prince like him we are now bleſt with, who has never known an Intereſt diſtinct from that of his Subjects; but, Gentlemen, your preſent Conduct may influence future Times. The beſt of Princes may be, and have been miſinform'd and miſguided by wicked Miniſters, and the beſt of Conſtitutions may be perverted to its own Ruin. Succeeding Generations may feel the good Effects of your preſent Diſpoſitions; for if the Machine of the Government of your City is once ſet a going in a proper Tract, it requires great Art and great Force to divert it from the Paths of its own Happineſs. Let me ſuppoſe, Gentlemen, therefore that you are now to

unite

unite ſo firmly as to render the Chain indiſſoluble by any Art of Power, what muſt be the natural Conſequence? The natural Conſequence muſt be, that your Poſterity would feel the good Effects of your Union by treading in your Steps, if the Time ſhould come, when for the Sins of this Age they ſhould be viſited by the afflicting Scourge of an univerſal Corruption among their Governors; if the Time ſhould come when a Majority of the Legiſlature ſhall become a Faction againſt the People, when honeſt Men ſhall diſdain to be ſeen near the Seat of their Prince, when public Virtue ſhall be openly laugh'd at in Senates, avowedly preach'd down in Pulpits, and totally obliterated in Courts; when the Effects of a few Patriots ſhall be too feeble to ſucceed againſt the Reſolutions of a determin'd Majority of Placemen: Should ever this, I ſay, be the Caſe, then the City of *London*, if united and firm within herſelf, may be again in a Condition to ring the Peal of national Vengeance into the Ears of a lethargic proſtituted Adminiſtration.

When you, Gentlemen, communicate Bleſſings to your Poſterity, you pay a Debt that you owe to your Anceſtors. The Sum

Sum that you owe to them is great, and it will require a long courſe of Merit fully to diſcharge it. The Intereſt of all the Nation is cloſely, nay inſeperately connected with yours, but it muſt be from your Conduct that the reſt of the Nation is to takes its Meaſures. You enjoy Advantages from your Numbers, your Wealth and your Figure peculiar to yourſelves, nor, while you act agreeably to the Conſtitution, can you be attacked without throwing down every Bulwark of Liberty. Other Communities and Bodies in the Kingdom may be eaſily cruſh'd by *Power*, ſhould it be lodg'd in wicked Hands, but you have before now ſtood undauntedly by the Privileges of a free People amidſt a general wreck of the Liberties and Conſtitution of the Nation. But your Anceſtors could never have made ſo generous a Stand, had they not laid aſide all perſonal Animoſities to cultivate a firm Union in Favour of their common Intereſts; and had they not in beſtowing your Places of Power and Profit, alwiſe thought that they who moſt *courted*, leaſt *deſerv'd* them. You have the ſacred Truſt of *Liberty* tranſmitted to your Hands from theſe great and wiſe Men. It may be your

Fate to have the ſame Difficulties to ſtruggle with, which they conquer'd. It may (for who can pronounce that it may not) be your Fate to ſee a corrupted Majority in a certain Place, reject the only Means by which your and the Nation's Liberties can be ſecur'd: It may be your Fate to ſee the ſame Majority like Vermin begetting their own Exiſtence: It may be your Fate to ſee the moſt valuable Privilege of *Engliſhmen* ſuſpended: It may be your Fate to ſee a Standing Army made a Part of your Conſtitution; in ſhort, it may be your Fate to ſee the moſt valuable Branches of our Commerce cut off by the Inſolence of an aſpiring Neighbour, or given up by the Treachery of a corrupted Miniſtry.

Theſe are diſmal Proſpects; but Thanks to Heaven that they are yet too remote for us to have the leaſt Apprehenſion of their ever being realiz'd in our Time. If ever that Time ſhould come, it muſt be, when the Legiſlative Power devolves into other Hands than thoſe it is at preſent lodg'd in, for the preſent Parliament has not given the Nation the leaſt Reaſon to fear that this ever can be the Caſe of the Nation while it continues. Therefore I hope

hope my Suggeſtions will be pardon'd by every one who wiſhes well to the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment and Adminiſtration, the more readily, when he reflects that it is impoſſible to foreſee what may be your Fate ſhould the preſent Oppoſition prevail, and the executive Power under his Majeſty lodg'd in other Hands.

There is one Caution, Gentlemen, by neglecting which, you may, with the beſt Intentions in the World, again bring on thoſe Calamities that have in former Times coſt you ſo dear. What I mean is miſtaking the true Senſe of Words. There are certain Words that are in the Mouths of every body, and tho' few underſtand their real Importance and Extent, yet it is only bellowing out, that the Things which they conceive to be expreſſed by theſe Words may be endanger'd, and the moſt patriot Endeavours may be fruſtrated with the moſt upright Intentions. To give you a few Inſtances on this Head: The Word PEACE is become venerable, eſpecially to the trading Part of the Nation. But how few reflect that a Peace, if the leaſt Point of National Honour is given up, may at this Juncture be more dangerous to the Intereſt of the Nation than an unſucceſsful War,

War. The Honour of the Nation is given up, if ample Satisfaction is not made, not only for the Wrongs our Merchants have ſuffer'd, but for the Expences the Nation has been put to by the unreaſonable Obſtinacy of our Enemies. If this End is not procur'd by *Peace*, we leave it in the Power of any Neighbour round us to ruin us. They need only commit repeated Inſults upon the Honour of the Nation, and repeated Barbarities upon her Subjects, and then refuſe to give any Satisfaction till we at an immenſe Expence fit out a Fleet and raiſe Armies to procure it. Then they may condeſcend to treat, and as ſoon as the Rod is remov'd, again fall to plundering and violating their Faith; again, we haſten our Preparations and redouble our Expences, and they again ſubmit to treat. Is it not plain then, that if the Nation thus injur'd obtains not Satisfaction for the Expences of her Preparations, ſhe muſt in a ſhort Time be abſolutely exhauſted by this alternate round of treating and bullying. Beſides, ſuch Conduct is a wanton Profuſion of the public Money, which comes out of the Pocket of every private Man in the Nation. From what I have ſaid, Gentlemen, it is plain

that

that we may have *Peace*, yet that Peace may not be attended with *Tranquillity*, in the ſame Manner that we may be in a State of *War*, without committing one Act of *Hoſtility*, or obtain *Reparation*, yet be immenſe *Loſers*. Therefore, let me earneſtly entreat you, Gentlemen, if ever the ſacred Name of Peace ſhould have any Influence upon your Conduct, to conſider, if it is a Peace that muſt be attended by *Tranquillity*, if it ſets the Honour of the Nation above *Reproach*, and her Intereſt beyond *Violation*.

Another Word, Gentlemen, that is and ought to be ſacred to every *Briton*, is that of KING. Every body knows how much that Word is us'd in all our political Altercations. It is evident how great an Influence it has with the Generality of Mankind, and how tender they are, leſt they ſhould break down the thin Partition that divides the Extreams of Loyalty and Liberty.

But how few reflect that the Principles of true Liberty and Loyalty are the ſame; and that the greateſt Reſpect which can be ſhown to the Perſon of a *King*, is defending and propagating thoſe Principles by which he holds his Crown. The King

of

of *Britain* holds his Crown by the nobleſt Tenure, the Love of the People; therefore whatever is advanc'd tending to deprive his Majeſty of the Affections of his Subjects, in effect, tends to weaken his Right to his Crown. We may go farther and affirm, that to regard a King of *Britain* as veſted with Royalty, Power and Precedence, therefore, that of courſe he muſt inherit Virtue, Wiſdom and Dignity, is acting againſt every Principle that rais'd him to Sovereignty. For we are to conſider, that if it had been poſſible for Accidents to have ſtamp'd an indelible Right upon a Monarch, King *James*, by whoſe Deprivation his preſent Majeſty now reigns, had a much better Right to the Crown than King *William* had. But the People of *Britain* reaſon'd in another Manner; they found that King *James* had forfeited all his Right by the Steps he took to enſlave them, therefore he was turn'd out; they thought King *William* would protect them in their Laws and Liberties, therefore they ſubmitted to him. But if King *William* had acted in the ſame Manner in which King *James* acted, the People of *England* would have behav'd fooliſhly and inconſiſtently if they had not turn'd

turn'd him out too. So that in effect, to ſuppoſe, that there is an indelible Stamp of Right upon the Perſon of any King, tacitely condemns the Revolution. Therefore, Gentlemen, you are not to be a ſcar'd by the wrong Application of a Word; you are not to be fawn'd out of your Common-Senſe by your Enemies uſing an obſolete unintelligible Cant. If you are real Friends of his Majeſty and his illuſtrious Houſe, you will only regard and keep in your Eye the Means of making him a great, a rightful and a lawful Sovereign. This you beſt do, by contriving as much as lyes in your Power to remove from his Councils all thoſe whom you are ſenſible have nothing elſe in View but to govern by thoſe Principles that render Oppoſition to Kings *lawful*, and by paying him all due Obedience from whom you receive Protection.

There is another Word which has done great Miſchief among us, and that is RELIGION. I am not, Gentlemen, to define what kind of Religion is moſt proper to you as *Creatures*, but what is moſt becoming you as Subjects. This may be thought by many a ridiculous Diſtinction, but it is a Diſtinction that the Laws and every Man

Man of Senſe in a free Nation underſtands. When Acts of Parliament were made eſtabliſhing a Church to which Kings, and they who had the Execution of the Laws were to conform, our Legiſlature did not mean to preſcribe Forms of Worſhip, or draw up Rules of Faith. They meant to eſtabliſh that Religion that would moſt probably beſt ſecure our *Civil* Rights. The Acts of Parliament excluding a Papiſt from the Crown, were not made becauſe the Parliament thought that Popery was not agreeable to the Senſe of the Church at ſuch or ſuch Periods, but becauſe they thought that it contain'd Principles ſo deſtructive of our Civil Rights that no People could be free under a King profeſſing that Religion, and thoroughly convinc'd of its Truth. Had all other Religions contain'd equal Abſurdities and equally deſtructive Principles, it is very probable that we ſhould have had no eſtabliſh'd Religion at all. RELIGION therefore *as eſtabliſh'd by Law* is no more than a Fence thrown by the Legiſlature around our Liberties; the Proteſtant Religion was thought the moſt proper for that Purpoſe, and therefore choſen; but if Liberty is wounded, it is of no Importance to the Public

Public whether the Dart that gave the Wound was aim'd from a Proteſtant or Popiſh Arm. The Religion that is eſſential to a *Creature* is of quite a different Species from the Religion I am now talking of; the laſt tends to make us happy here, the firſt, to make us happy hereafter. No Government, no Power upon Earth has a Right to aſk an Account of the one; and all Governments, all Powers have found it neceſſary to eſtabliſh the other. But, by this Eſtabliſhment, a good Government never can have it in their View to make a *Diſtinction* where there is no *Difference*. You are therefore, Gentlemen, to ſettle the proper Boundaries; you are not to ſuffer yourſelves to be amuſed by fooliſh Quibles about Religion, nor are you to think that the Preſervation of any ſpeculative Points are a proper Equivalent for your Liberties and Properties. While you preſerve theſe, you are ſure to preſerve your Religion.

There is another Word, Gentlemen, whoſe Meaning is of the utmoſt Importance that you ſhould ſettle; the Word I mean is GOVERNMENT. I ſhall not ſuggeſt to you any thing that has been ſaid with Regard to the Difference betwixt

the *Government* and the *Conſtitution*, that Point has been already handled more fully, and to better Purpoſe than I can pretend to do. All I mean is only to caution you againſt a vulgar Miſtake, that the *Conduct* of the *Government* can not be touch'd upon without wounding the *Majeſty* of the *King*. This, Gentlemen, is a dangerous Miſtake, and in a free Country may be fatal. You are to enquire, you are to reaſon; if you find Cauſe, you are to remonſtrate againſt the Conduct of the Government. You are, in order to give a Luſtre to *Majeſty*, to do your utmoſt that it ſhall not be ſullied by the peſtilentious Exhalations of *Corruption*. You are to conſider your Governors as Men appointed by the Guardian of your Properties, to ſerve you, and to protect you in the Enjoyments of your Civil Rights. If you are ſenſible, if it is evident to all Mankind, that they deſtroy, inſtead of protecting, theſe Rights, you are requir'd by what you owe to your Country, to have Recourſe to thoſe Methods for Redreſs that the Laws and the Conſtitution point out. This, Gentlemen, is the Way to make your Prince great and glorious, and to preſerve your Country free and happy. Let me therefore earneſtly

neſtly adviſe you to avoid and to deteſt thoſe who in order to ſcreen the Miſmanagements of a Miniſtry, or to ſtifle the Efforts of the public Spirit, proſtitute the Name of Majeſty. Examine the Speeches, the Writings, and the Diſcourſe of ſuch Men, and you will find that they never name the King but when they mean the Miniſter. If ſuch Men exhort you to Unanimity in your Acquieſcence to Corruption becauſe it will be agreeable to the *King*, underſtand that they mean becauſe it will be agreeable to the *Miniſter*. To convince every underſtanding Perſon that nothing is more diſtant in reality than theſe two Words, let us ſuppoſe that another Perſon exhorts you to perſevere in your Oppoſition to corrupted and ſlaviſh Principles becauſe that will be agreeable to the *King*, there is no Man in the Nation who will ſuppoſe that ſuch a Perſon means that it will *be agreeable to the Miniſter*. So that when the King's Name is mention'd in order to intimidate, to perſuade, or to recommend Perſons and Meaſures, let your firſt Care be to examine if that Perſon or Meaſure is agreeable to thoſe Principles by which the King reigns; if they

are not, you are abſolutely ſure that the King knows nothing of the Matter, and that the beſt and moſt acceptable Service you can do him is to oppoſe them.

This laſt Reflection brings me to conſider the Qualifications that commonly recommend a Man as a Candidate in a certain Intereſt. Let me aſk the moſt prejudic'd Man in Favour of that Intereſt in the Kingdom, if he believes, that ſince that Intereſt prevail'd in P———ts, the Heads of it have ever aſk'd one Queſtion about the moral Character of any Man, either recommended, to them or by them? If they have ever examin'd what Proofs ſuch a Man has given of his Diſintereſtedneſs? What Inclinations he has diſcover'd that ſhew him to be a ſincere Friend of his Country, what Services he has done her? Are theſe the Queſtions they aſk? No; the Queſtion now is, how uſeful he or his Friends can be at an Election? If he ever diſcover'd an Averſion to the Meaſures of the Miniſtry? If he will wink at a Job, or be thorow-pac'd in a Queſtion? Theſe are all the Qualifications which ſome require of thoſe to whoſe Hands the Honour and Intereſts of this Nation are committed. It becomes you, Gentlemen,

to

to ſet a contrary Example; it becomes you who have ſo much Property at Stake, to uſe your Endeavours not only in this City, but wherever your Influence, your Friendſhips or your Intereſts reach, to put a Brand of Diſtinction upon every Candidate whom you have Reaſon to ſuſpect to favour the Cauſe of Corruption.

But, Gentlemen, it will be impoſſible for you to act with that deciſive Weight which you otherwiſe might have, without endeavouring to preſerve, I had almoſt ſaid to retrieve, your Independency. I don't mean your Independency in your private Characters, moſt of you, I dare anſwer for it, are above all Dependency, but your Independency as a conſtituent Part of the Legiſlative Body of this City. Conſider, Gentlemen of the Common-Council, that it is in the Power of a Majority of the Court of Aldermen, to put a Stop to the moſt vigorous Efforts of your public Virtue. It is in their Power to prevent your ſetting that Example to the Nation which may one Day animate it with a proper Spirit. Not all the Convictions of Common-Senſe, not the univerſal Voice of Mankind, nor the apparent and approaching Ruin of Liberty can

avail

avail you to procure Juſtice from Parliament, ſhould a corrupted Majority prevail in putting a Negative upon your preſenting your juſt Complaints and Remonſtrances. Thus, Gentlemen, you are in a worſe Situation than any Body of Men in this Nation; you may, if ſuch a Majority prevails, be depriv'd of what the Laws of Nations, the Conſtitution of this Kingdom and immemorial Practice, declare as the undoubted Right of all Subjects. This Situation, Gentlemen, is the more intolerable, when we conſider with how great a Power the Laws in being have veſted a Miniſter. It is in his Power to tempt Men with whatever Ambition can expect, or Avarice deſire; therefore unleſs you can pronounce Men void of human Paſſions and Affections, you cannot ſay that you are independent. The Integrity of the preſent Miniſtry, and the Purity of the preſent Court of Aldermen, are no Security. A corrupted and corrupting Miniſtry may ſucceed the preſent; among the Court of Aldermen, Men may be hereafter found, whoſe Connections with, and immediate Dependance upon ſuch a Miniſtry are viſible to all the World. If a Miniſtry, by Places, Poſts

and

and Penſions, can bring over but fourteen Aldermen to their Side, give me Leave, Gentlemen, to aſk you what Means you can find to throw out a future Exciſe, or to ſhew your Oppoſition to a future Convention. It is a fatal Compliment that moſt Communities have made to good Magiſtrates when they have inveſted them with Powers unknown to the original Form of their Government. They don't conſider that while they are ſtrengthning the Hands of good Magiſtrates, they are perhaps forging the Fetters which they and their Poſterity are to wear. Therefore, Gentlemen, unleſs you have a poſitive and an evident Certainty that the Court of Aldermen never can be corrupted by a Miniſtry, you ought to do your utmoſt Endeavours, you ought to exert your utmoſt Vigour, to procure a Repeal of that Clauſe. The Liberties of your Community, the Liberties of your Country, yourſelves and your Poſterity require it from you. All other Efforts of your public Spirit, without this, are in vain. In vain you labour to procure a Limitation of the Number of Placemen in Parliament, unleſs you, at the ſame Time, labour this Point; for ſuppoſing the moſt diſintereſted

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Parliament that ever was, to be now ſitting, ſuppoſing that an Affair of the utmoſt Conſequence to your Trade and Liberties to be depending before them, let me aſk you, Gentlemen, how it is poſſible, if the Majority of the Court of Aldermen are in the Intereſts of your Enemies, for the Parliament to be inſtructed in the Senſe of your Community. They can put a Negative upon your petitioning in your incorporate Capacity, and it is next to impoſſible for you to petition in a regular Manner in your private Capacities. Conſider what the Effect muſt have been, had ſome Gentlemen in a late memorable Event ſucceeded in what they endeavour'd to effectuate. You will eaſily gueſs that I mean the Convention. Had the Majority of the Court of Aldermen been prevail'd upon to have given a Negative to your preſenting your Petition, how muſt the Parliament and the Nation have known the Senſe of the City of *London.* Might not then the Repreſentatives of the Nation, if they had unanimouſly and abſolutely approv'd of the Convention, have juſtify'd their Conduct, by ſaying that the Acquieſcence of the City of *London* was their Motive. You were more concern'd

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in its Conſequences than all the Nation beſides, and had you objected nothing to it, might it not have been fairly preſum'd that it was for the Intereſt of the Nation. How would the reſt of the Kingdom have behav'd in ſuch an Event? Might they not have reaſonably thought that the City of *London* were much better Judges of the commercial Intereſts of the Nation than they were, and that it muſt be a good Meaſure becauſe you did not oppoſe it.

Give me Leave, Gentlemen, to ſet the Conſequences of this Power veſted in the Court of Aldermen in a ſtill ſtronger Light. I ſhall ſuppoſe that under a future Miniſtry a Bill is brought into Parliament, depriving the Liverymen of *London* of their Right to nominate two Aldermen for Lord-Mayor, and that they ſhall be nominated by the Crown. Pray, Gentlemen, even in this Caſe, what Method could you fall upon to oppoſe this Step, but that of petitioning againſt it? But if the ſame Influence that procur'd the Meaſure to be ſet on Foot ſhould procure a Majority in the Court of Aldermen to put a Negative upon your petitioning againſt it, what Redreſs could you have, or how prevent the Blow? Are you

tamely to give up your Rights? Or are you to aſſert them in a Manner that is contrary to Law and diſreſpectful to your Superiors? The Conſequences that muſt follow from this are too plain and too ſhocking for me to ſuggeſt them.

From what I have ſaid, I believe it is very plain that your Liberties as *Engliſhmen* entirely depend on one ſingle Fact, which is, that no Miniſter ſhall ever find the Means to corrupt fourteen of the Court of Aldermen into his Intereſts. I have only one or two Particulars more to trouble you with on this Head. To give any Body of Men whatſoever, who are not a ſupreme Legiſlature, a Negative upon the People, is contrary to every Maxim of good Government, becauſe the People may then become the Slaves of thoſe who are themſelves but a ſubordinate Power. Thus every End of Government may be perverted, and the People left to the melancholy Reflection of their not having had it in their Power to make one Struggle. But this Abſurdity is vaſtly heighten'd when we conſider that tho' the Government of the City of *London* is a popular Government, the only Negative that is lodg'd in any Branch of that Go-

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vernment is upon the People. Thus the tribunitial Power which in Old *Rome* was ſo uſeful towards preſerving the Liberty of the People, is revers'd; for amongſt them the Negative was upon the Government; amongſt you, it is upon the People. But there is one Circumſtance ſtill more abſurd than all the reſt, which is, that this Negative is lodg'd in a Body of Men, who, by their Office, are cloath'd with a Perpetuity of Power, ſo that if Corruption ſhould obtain amongſt them, you have no chance to work yourſelves clear of it but by their Death. To conclude this Point, the very Gentlemen in your Magiſtracy who, you are now ſenſible, are your beſt, and your moſt diſintereſted Friends, own how proper, how neceſſary it is for you to endeavour to obtain a Repeal of this Cauſe; tho' theſe Gentlemen were themſelves the Inſtruments of procuring it. This is a glorious, an immortal Proof of their Zeal for your Rights; it is a Proof that few, tho' otherwiſe good Men, would care to give, even tho' they were convinc'd of the Juſtice of the Thing; for 'tis too often ſeen among Mankind, that Pride ſupports thoſe Meaſures which

which Ignorance or want of right Information has ſet on Foot.

You have, Gentlemen, all the Reaſon in the World to applaud yourſelves in the Choice of your Repreſentatives in Parliament. They have acted honeſtly, they have acted zealouſly for your and the Nation's Intereſts. But ſome have, as they thought juſtly, found fault with the Conſtitution of *Britain*, in that the Powers veſted in our Repreſentatives are too independent of the People. The only Remedy to prevent the Abuſe of theſe Powers which the People can apply, is, by their giving their Repreſentatives Inſtructions how to behave in all Points of National Concern. But you are ſenſible how difficult it is for ſmall Corporations to know, in complicated Points, what is their real Intereſt. Thus they are at a Loſs what Inſtructions they are to give to their Repreſentatives, who are left at Liberty to act as they pleaſe, and excuſe themſelves to their Conſtituents, by telling them they did not know their Mind. This, Gentlemen, I am afraid has been attended with very bad Conſequences; but you can eaſily, ſafely, and conſiſtently with your Conſtitution, prevent them. You need

need only fix it as a Rule to give Inſtructions to your Repreſentatives upon theſe great Points, whenever they ſhall occur, and make theſe Inſtructions public to the World. This would be a Direction to all the Nation, it would animate them with a proper Spirit, it would open the Eyes of thoſe Communities that are manag'd by a Faction, who have no other Merit but to take Advantage of the Ignorance of their Fellow Citizens; it would tend to put the Conſtitution upon its original Footing, and to make his Majeſty glorious as well as the People happy. It is true, that at preſent, Repreſentatives are under no Obligation to regard the Inſtructions of their Conſtituents, but ſuch a Conduct in you would make the meaneſt, the moſt ignorant of the People Judges how far their Members have acted conſiſtently with the Intereſts of the People, which ought to be the Rule of all Government.

If, Gentlemen, you look upon this as the Rule of Government, you need never be at a Loſs for want of a Precedent in any Caſe that ſhall happen; you are ſure that the Safety of the People was the Foundation, and that if in particular

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Caſes Preſidents are wanting, they ought to be created. Every Caſe wherein a Precedent is brought, has been ſometime or other without a Precedent, and there can be no Innovation by your purſuing any Meaſure that is for the good of the Whole.

In the mean Time, Gentlemen, it is very poſſible for you by your Behaviour to reconcile your Duty with your Intereſt; the more dutiful your Manner of petitioning or ſolliciting Redreſs is, it muſt be the more ſolid, and more laſting. It is impoſſible for you to procure any Advantages, if theſe Advantages are ſollicited in a Manner that is inconſiſtent with the Duty you owe to your lawful Superiors. The ſober, the wiſe Part of Mankind will deſert a Cauſe carry'd on in ſuch a Manner; and when Prudence and Moderation in Conduct are wanting, the Spirit from which you act muſt ſoon flag, and your Redreſs be with the more Difficulty obtain'd. Give me Leave therefore, Gentlemen, to put you in Mind of what was obſerv'd by (*) one of the greateſt Politicians, as well as one of the greateſt Friends to the Liberties of the People that ever liv'd. He obſerves that in the Event

(*) *Tacitus* of

of all Contentions betwixt the Government and the People; if theſe Contentions proceed to Tumults, the Government, if it gets the better, alwiſe acquires a new Acceſſion of Power. In *Britain*, Gentlemen, all the Advantages which the Liberty of the People has gain'd, have been gain'd by Methods preſcrib'd by the Conſtitution, and are of ſuch a Nature as to ſecure the Rights of the People, but never to weaken the juſt Powers of the Crown. They have ſometimes indeed been attended with the Deſtruction of bad Miniſters, but that very Deſtruction was the beſt Service that could be done to a good Prince, becauſe it eſtabliſh'd his Throne on its proper Baſis, *the Affections of the* PEOPLE.

I am, Gentlemen,

Oct. 1, 1739.

Yours, &c.

FINIS.

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